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## BOOK REVIEWS.

THE LETTERS AND TIMES OF THE TYLERS. By Lyon Gardiner Tyler, M. A., LL.D., President of William and Mary College. Volume III. Sold by H. T. Jones, bookseller, Williamsburg, Va., 1897. Price of Volume III, \$3; full set, \$7.

This publication adds a third volume to an already extensive work, the first volume of which was published in 1884 and the second in 1885. The present volume, limited to 250 copies, is intended to put in permanent form some of the important letters, illustrating the public lives of the two John Tylers, father and son, which have come into the possession of the editor in the interval since 1885. Besides the letters published for the first time, the volume contains short biographical sketches of the two Tylers, an account of the annexation of Texas, an account of President Tyler's management of the offices, Mrs. Julia G. Tyler's reminiscences of her life in the White House, and among other interesting addenda a genealogical account of the family of John Tyler and of the related families of Armistead, Shields, Marot, Christian and Gardiner, as well as brief sketches of other Tyler families of Virginia—Tylers of Caroline, Prince William, Norfolk, Richmond, Hanover, Westmoreland and King George.

The first few pages of the work introduce us to John Tyler, the elder, a man whose ability was recognized by the Virginia people, as they kept him in public service for forty years, conferring upon him successively the high offices of Speaker of the House of Delegates, Judge of the General Court, and Governor of the State. Though his life was passed in the employment of the State, except when he acted as United States District Judge, he comes at several critical periods into important connection with the national history. It was Mr. Tyler who drew the resolutions of the Virginia Legislature which convened the Convention at Annapolis—the precursor of that at Philadelphia which adopted our Federal Constitution. Furthermore, as Mr. Tyler acted as Speaker of the House of Delegates during the Revolution, his services in sustaining the national credit in Virginia placed him above the restricted character of a State officer, it being a fact well known that the life of even Patrick Henry was also passed almost entirely in the same sphere of action. In the matter of the "Literary Fund," which took its rise from the urgent representation of Mr. Tyler when Governor, we still have in our State system a reminder of his untiring interest in the cause of educa-

tion. Mr. Tyler was a warm personal friend of Patrick Henry, and a devoted supporter of Mr. Jefferson. It was he who reported to William Wirt, when he wrote his life of Patrick Henry, the speeches of Henry on the war, mingling his own fiery eloquence with the bare outlines of Henry's language, as remembered by him. We cannot take leave of this splendid old patriot without quoting Judge Spencer Roane, who declared that "his mind was of the highest order," and Henry Clay, who, as a young man in Richmond, knew him while Governor, and who said in Congress, in 1841, that "a purer patriot or a more honest man never breathed the breath of life." He died January 6, 1813, while acting as Judge of the United States District Court.

John Tyler, the younger, took up the thread of the political life which his father laid down. Of his long career as a statesman, but a brief account can be given. He was a consistent believer in the doctrine of States rights, and held that only on this theory could the union of the States be maintained without bloodshed. He believed that there were other and even more powerful sanctions than brute force to the compact of union. It was the denial of any such sanctions that brought on the war. The great British union of to-day, which is held together, at least so far as Canada and Australia are concerned, by interest and affection between its parts, is an object lesson that his ideas on this subject were not as optimistic as some may think.

In character he was conciliatory, but totally unyielding on questions of principle. He was one of the forty members of Congress that voted against the Missouri Compromise in 1820, and the solitary member of the Senate who voted against the Force Bill in 1833, on its third and last reading in the Senate; and yet it was by his influence with Clay and Calhoun that the two champions of the tariff question were brought, in 1833, to agree upon the compromise tariff of that year, the principle of which Mr. Tyler suggested to Clay. The political parties at that time were factional composites, so that Southern States rights men were found acting with different Northern elements at different times. The Democratic party, formed in 1828, consisted of the high tariff and spoils men from New York, Pennsylvania and Missouri, Silas Wright, Marcy, Benton, etc., who were the original friends of Jackson, and the States rights men of the South—the original followers of W. H. Crawford, who had been endorsed in 1824 for the Presidency by Mr. Jefferson himself. By his course on the tariff, internal improvements and the offices, Jackson drove off the States rights elements of this Democratic coalition, and they gradually formed in union with the National Republicans of the North, the celebrated Whig party of 1834. This being the real beginning of that party, the author of this work appears to have little trouble in refuting the charges afterwards made against Mr. Tyler of causing the rupture of the "Whig

party" by his vetoes of "Whig measures." The evidence cited by the author is from the utterances of Clay, Webster, John Quincy Adams, and many other Whig leaders, and it shows conclusively that the Whigs repudiated in every way possible, in the canvass of 1840, the old issues of the bank, protective tariff and internal improvements.

When Mr. Clay pushed the bank again to the front, on Mr. Tyler's accession to the Presidency, he did so in defiance of a conversation held with the President at the beginning of the extra session in 1841, in the course of which he was clearly forewarned as to the consequences of his course. As to Mr. Tyler's veto of the Fiscal Bank, which was the name of the first bill offered for his approval, Mr. Ewing, the Secretary of the Treasury, expressly states that that veto was in conformity with Tyler's opinions, "pertinaciously adhered to in all his conversations." As to his veto of the Fiscal Corporation, the facts seem to indicate a case even more discreditable to the Whig leaders. The author quotes the secret letter of Mr. Crittenden, a member of the Cabinet and Mr. Clay's great friend, to show that they deliberately planned from the first to slip by the veto a bank with even greater powers than those possessed by the bill which had lately received his disapproval. He quotes Hon. A. H. Stuart, of Virginia, to prove that the Whigs deliberately ignored in this second bill (called the Fiscal Corporation) the reservation of the consent of the States to branches, which reservation the President, with his own hand, inserted in a paper containing the section empowering it to establish branches. They, in fact, so shaped many of the other sections as to make it, instead of a bill dealing in foreign exchanges, a bill with all the local discounting powers which Mr. Tyler had just condemned. Although the Whig Cabinet knew perfectly well that the President could under the Constitution only fill vacancies happening during the sitting of the Senate, by promptly submitting his nominations for confirmation at the same session, they resigned on Saturday evening, giving him but Sunday to decide upon almost an entirely new Cabinet, for Congress adjourned on Monday.

It seems that only a principle was discussed at the Cabinet meeting of August 18th, and as to the reported draft of the bill, Mr. Ewing ventured only to say that "he heard" that the President had approved it. Against this is the formal denial of the President, the note of Mr. Webster written to the President on the day the bill was submitted to the House, that "if any measure pass, you are perfectly free to exercise your constitutional power wholly uncommitted," and the fact never denied that repeated messages were sent by the President to those in charge of the bill that the bill as prepared could never obtain his sanction, without an amendment reserving the rights of the States as to branches of the bank. When the Whigs would make no alterations, the President, through Mr. Cushing, of Massachusetts, asked that the bill be postponed till the next session, and when they refused to do this

unless he would agree not to turn out his Cabinet in the meantime, the President at once sent in his second veto.

In all this controversy it is pleasing to state that Mr. Webster and the Senators from Massachusetts, however differing from the President on the question of constitutionality, openly sympathised with him, and warmly condemned the impolitic conduct of the Whigs.

In spite, however, of the bank quarrel and of his numerous adversaries, Mr. Tyler's administration was eminently successful. He found a civil service apparently corrupt, but at the end of his term he could point with pride to the fact that during it no defalcation of any moment had taken place. He found the country dangerously embroiled at home and abroad, and its credit entirely dishonored. He left it in peace with itself and with all foreign nations, and with a treasury overflowing. As Congress, in order to compel an approval of the bank bills, had repealed all the laws guarding the Treasury, the President had the moneys of the government in his naked keeping for four years, and yet it is to his credit that, in the collections and disbursements of millions of dollars, not a cent was lost to the government.

This administration is certainly remarkable for affording principles of policy which are uppermost to-day. When the British commander, Lord George Paulet, seized upon the Hawaiian Islands in 1843, President Tyler, through his Secretary of State, Hugh S. Legaré, vigorously protesting, compelled their surrender, taking the ground that the situation of these islands rendered their possession by any other power thoroughly inconsistent with the safety of the United States. To-day, President McKinley, standing on a similar platform, is submitting a treaty for the annexation of Hawaii. So also, Mr. Tyler set the example for the Vice-President's assuming the full title and authority of the President in case of death; and against the encroachments of Congress he fearlessly asserted the power of the Executive over confidential communications, a precedent not long since appealed to by Mr. Cleveland.

In respect to the Ashburton Treaty, which settled our boundary line for 2,000 miles on the north, and closed the controversies about the *Caroline* and the *Creole*, and about the claims to impressment and search, it appears that that treaty was throughout the inspiration of the President. As Mr. Webster himself said, "it proceeded from step to step under the President's own immediate eye and correction." The boundary line was settled by adopting the principle of compromise, which the President had advocated in the Senate in 1831. It is a fact that had it not been for his intervention, Lord Ashburton would, at one stage of the proceedings, have abandoned the negotiations and returned home. In the correspondence regarding the *Creole*, Lord Ashburton had omitted in his letter to Webster the very words which alone conceded the American contention. But the President caused their insertion, and through them full damages, under the convention of 1853, were awarded to the

owners of the slaves whose escape, after murder of the ship's crew, the British authorities at Nassau had "officially" encouraged. As respects the 8th article of the treaty, providing for squadrons on the coast of Africa to enforce the laws against the slave trade, that article was wholly Mr. Tyler's suggestion, and the questions of impressment and the *Caroline* had been fully discussed in his messages previous to the Webster-Ashburton correspondence. And he it was who caused the treaty to be voted on as a whole and not in separate articles, as Webster proposed should be done.

And no less was President Tyler's personality shown in the correspondence with the Rhode Island authorities, the management of the Indian war, and the annexation of Texas. This last great measure, which carried also the annexation of California and New Mexico, gave the United States, if it had it not before, a truly continental character.

Mr. Tyler first caused a treaty to be negotiated for the annexation, which, when rejected contrary to all assurances, by Senators, he caused to be put in form of a joint resolution for the adoption of Congress. To accentuate his efforts, he announced himself a candidate for the Presidency on the Texas issue, thus compelling the Democratic party to drop Mr. Van Buren, to whom the party was committed, but who was opposed to annexation, and to take up Mr. Polk, who, until a few days before the Convention, had been a candidate for the Vice-Presidency only. The joint resolutions, thus reinforced, passed Congress, and two days before Mr. Polk came in, Mr. Tyler had approved them and sent a messenger to inform Texas of the fact. The messenger arrived in Texas not a day too soon, for Mexico had already offered to recognize the independence of Texas, provided the latter would pledge never to annex herself to any other government. Texas rejected the Mexican proposition and accepted that of the United States; but it is not going too far to say that, in the absence of a counter proposition, the Mexican offer would have been accepted. As a consequence, the United States would probably never have obtained a hold on the California coasts, in which case their geographical limits would now be only two-thirds of their present extent.

One other subject in the life of Mr. Tyler should, in justice to his patriotism, be adverted to; and that is his call of the Peace Conference, which sat at Washington in the winter of 1861. It has been the habit to refer to this Conference as "a failure." It was, in fact, a great success, not as avoiding war, which was, perhaps, a foregone conclusion, but as showing to the world that Virginia earnestly loved the Union of the fathers, and did not desire war. War came, however, and neither Mr. Tyler nor Virginia had a cause to be ashamed of the struggle offered by the South in defence of local self-government, another word for States rights. Mr. Tyler died while a member of the Confederate Congress on January 18, 1862, at which time a great concourse of citizens witnessed the interment of his remains in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond.

Of him and his high order of talents, Charles Dickens, Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, Henry S. Foote, Henry W. Hilliard and other eminent men are quoted as speaking in the highest terms. It is a pretty compliment that Tyler county, in West Virginia, named in 1814 for the elder John Tyler, was surrounded by the Legislature of Virginia with counties bearing the names of several of President Tyler's most valued councillors—Webster, Calhoun, Upshur and Gilmer. So that the administration of 1841–1845 is represented topographically on the map of West Virginia.

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THE EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA. By John H. Latané, A. B., Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, March and April, 1895.

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(Review continued from Vol. V, page 106.)

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In the Robinson MSS. there is not an allusion to Mr. Harrison, from which I infer he never appeared, and no order was ever made with reference to him. He must have understood that he had to obey the law, or resign his ministerial functions. William Durand then seems to have assumed the position of the religious leader of that section, for on Sunday, the 28th day of May, 1648, "Richard Conquest, gent, high sheriff of the county of Lower Norfolk, went to the church or chappell of Elizabeth River aforesaid," where he saw William Durand go "in the Desk or Reading Place of the said Church," and also "into the pulpit to preach to the people as he hath 'customarily done' for three months last past." Conquest "made a public proclamation, requiring all persons there assembled, to return to their several dwellings," or to answer for their "contempt" for their failure so to do. They did not obey. Mr. William Durand was arrested, and Mr. Cornelius Lloyd, Mr. Edw'd Lloyd, and Mr. John fferinhaugh, not only "denyed and refused to aid in making the arrest" upon being summoned so to do; but, interfered, and released Durand.

On the 10th of August, 1648, John Norwood was ordered to render an account of the Glebe lands, "ever since Parson Harrison hath deserted his ministerial office." On November 3d, 1648, an attachment issued against the property of William Durand for 5,600 pounds of tobacco, to defray "the great charges occasioned by William Durand, the King's prisoner formerly."

Thomas Marsh became his security and the attachment was dismissed.